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593 tendencies are reconciled. The liberty to address his father by name is a reassurance, to the child, of the love and solicitude that lie behind the
576 authority his father exercises over him. Perhaps it is also an expression of the identification of father and child by the lineage principle. And the greater deference in his behaviour towards his mother than towards his father is a sign that he recognizes her control, though she seems to have only love and devotion for him. Familiarity in everyday intercourse compensates for the filial piety due to a parent in the more formal, particularly in the jural and ritual aspects, of parent–child relations. The greater overt freedom with the father compensates for the greater emphasis on respect and dependence in the child's relations with him; the franker signs of deference towards the mother compensate for the greater emphasis on her love for her child as against her authority over him.

Clearly there is a very high degree of consistency between the social
593 images of the parents projected in the cultural norms of the Tallensi and the actual behaviour of children to parents. The mother is thought of as the food-giver. Her love for her children is subject to no limits or laws and her status in relation to them is almost sacrosanct. Her relations with them are based on love tempered with authority. The father is thought of as the source of discipline, the guardian of good conduct. He is strict without being harsh or tyrannous. His role is of special importance in the face of the community at large and in relation to the spiritual powers that govern human life. His relations with his children are based on his authority over them, his responsibility for them, and justice tempered with love.

Adolescence and the Principle of Reciprocity

For a Tale boy the years between about 13 and 20 bring changes in
883 degree rather than in kind in his relations with his parents. There is no affective or social break to mark a transition from childhood to adulthood among the Tallensi. Even among the Hill Talis initiation into the cult of the External *Bɔɣar* is not associated with adolescence; it can take place at any age. A boy's social development is a process of gradual advance along lines laid down in early childhood.[1] As he grows older

[1] Tallensi distinguish the main phases of a boy's development not by
856 chronological age but by two criteria of a broader character, either separately or together, according to the situation. They have a physiological criterion and an economic one. Physiologically they distinguish three major phases, after babyhood, in a boy: (*a*) when he is still a 'small boy (*bumbil*)' with undescended testicles, showing, as they put it, only a 'pale scrotum (*lanzee*)'; (*b*) Pubescence, denoted by the verb *sol*, to mature physically, and marked by the testicles descending (*lana sigərəme*) and the emergence of pubic hair (*saŋkperuŋ kɔbət*). They say 'he has matured completely (*u sol ba'ahme*)' of a boy who has reached puberty and is entering manhood. (*c*) Lastly comes adulthood, when he is a 'grown man (*bonkɔrəg*)'. It is by reference to these physiological phases that men often date events in their life. The second criterion is that of advancing economic proficiency. A 'small boy' is capable only of scaring the birds from the newly

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he grows more and more proficient in the economic skills he began to acquire in childhood and better versed in the details of his culture. By the time he is 20 or so he knows most of what is known to his people about farming and animal husbandry, hunting and fishing, and building. He is wholly imbued with the values of his culture and has a good working knowledge of its institutions and customs. It is enough to enable him to play his part as a young man in the life of his community, but there is still much to learn which only years of experience and responsibility will give him. He is, however, an active if unimportant participant in corporate activities of the lineage and clan, and in the management of family affairs, with a right to his own opinions. In step with his growing social maturity a boy's field of social relations increases in range and in depth. His father's authority begins to loom larger, but at the same time his father's responsibilities on his behalf also increase and his own self-differentiation advances; and a theme that was of minor effect in their relationship hitherto comes into prominence. This is the principle of reciprocity.

During this period the identification of father and son is greatly deepened. It grows out of the intimacies and co-operation of everyday life. As they work side by side on the farm the father teaches his son farming skills and lore. When he performs a sacrifice at home his son is his assistant, learning from him how to carry out such rites, and what doctrines and beliefs lie behind them. In such situations he learns the names of his ancestors and begins to understand the structure of the lineage system and where he fits into it. He makes the acquaintance of matrilateral and sororal kin who come to take part in rites of this sort. The division between the men of the lineage and the women of the lineage, and the distinction between the father's side of the family and the mother's side become of direct practical relevance to him. Sometimes a man will call his adolescent and adult sons to him and tell them various things they ought to know in case he gets ill or dies. He tells them about his farms and other property, about his debts and those who owe him debts, and, a most important matter, about his ancestor and medicine shrines. In doing this he is, in effect, telling them what he knows of the history and traditions of his lineage and clan. These are matters which a man does not speak about to his daughters or wives. If they learn of them it is only incidentally, through listening to the conversation of the men. Daughters and wives are present at domestic sacrifices to ancestor spirits, but only sons are allowed to share in the cult of a man's private medicine shrines. Most important of all is the responsible

sown farms or from the ripening grain; a lad of 7 or 8 can be trusted to take care of sheep (*dɔl pihi*); older boys, up to the age of 14 or 15, are cattle herds (*hiem nigi*) and already help with the hoeing; after the age of pubescence a boy works on the farm side by side with the men—he farms (*u kɔɔrome*). These phases are also used to date events, often in conjunction with the physiological criterion.

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part an adolescent begins to play in the household economy. His work becomes an essential contribution to its welfare and hence he has a voice in its management.

A man who grew up under his own father's direct tutelage and learnt the arts of life from him in this way is said to be one who 'reached' (*paa*) —that is, knew in person—his father. Tallensi perceive that this is a mechanism of primary importance not only for maintaining the cohesion of the family and the lineage, but also for the transmission of their culture to their offspring. A man quoting precedents from the past for instance, in support of a claim to a debt or to a right to succeed to a particular office, bases his argument on the statement, 'I reached my father and saw such and such things', or, 'I reached my father and he told me this or that'. A man well versed in the details of the social structure, of ceremonial activities, or of economic lore, or in the finer points of etiquette, morals, traditions, and beliefs, says proudly, in explanation of his knowledge, 'Did I not reach my father?'; and a common excuse offered for ignorance is that the person concerned 'did not reach his father'.

The identification of father and son becomes of considerable social importance at this stage and henceforth. Thus it is a very common thing for youths of 18 and upwards to represent their fathers in jural and ceremonial affairs that do not demand their fathers' personal presence. If a man is asked by a clansman to act as intermediary (*pɔyasama*) in a marriage transaction, he will often send his son as his deputy. And if the intermediary chosen is a young lad, his father will act for him. So also a man sends his sons with the customary gifts he is obliged to contribute to his father-in-law's or mother-in-law's funeral. Old men always delegate their sons to act for them in political matters and often in jural affairs. In disputes about wives it is a common thing to see a man's son coming to the tribunal as his father's representative to answer for the actions of the brother whom he accompanies. In jural and ceremonial situations the identification of father and son is coextensive with the range of recognized generation differences within the inner lineage.

We have previously remarked that the identification of father and son is a fundamental element in the structure of the lineage. It is also, and more significantly from our present point of view, a fundamental feature of the normal personal relations of father and son. This is seen most simply in the affection and devotion so often found between father and son and in the strength of the sentiments and religious values associated with the father's original home.

The relationship of mother and son also changes during this phase, but again there is no abrupt break. As a boy approaches manhood he becomes more and more absorbed in the activities and interests of men and sees less of his mother in everyday intercourse. But his affec-

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tion for her remains. He still helps her to cultivate her ground-nut plot, if he has no younger brothers to take this on, and assists her in other ways. Later on, when he marries, his intimacy with his mother will be revived. It is to her *dug* that he brings his wife and in her care that he places the girl.

A girl grows away from her father as she approaches puberty. This is not due to physiological taboos, for there are none connected with a girl's puberty or with menstruation in general. There are no ceremonies to mark a girl's attainment of physiological maturity, nor is there any break in her affective relations with her parents. The only significant break in the steady process of social maturation for a girl is her first marriage. Her growing away from her father is due to the sexual division of labour and the corresponding division of interests in the family. Though there is no barrier to ordinary social intercourse between the sexes in a domestic family, there is the separation of interests and activities that we have mentioned before, and adolescent boys and girls are caught up in it.

A girl of 13 or 14 years and over does not run to her father and cuddle up to him as her 6- or 7-year-old sister might do. She is with her mother and the other women most of the day assisting with the more arduous domestic tasks. She helps to clean the house, to fetch water and collect shea fruit or firewood, to grind the millet, to cook, and to care for the younger children. At harvest time, or when they are beating the floors of their rooms, she does a full day's work with the other women. She is already adept in all these feminine skills and is well versed in all the gossip of the women. A girl of 12 or 13 can be left in charge of the house for a day or two while her mother is away. She goes to market by herself to buy or sell things for her mother; and also, a more important consideration for her personally, to display her charms and flirt with the young men. She accompanies older girls on firewood parties or when they go to dance at funerals.

When a girl approaches puberty her mind is set upon marriage. Tallensi estimate a girl's stage of development before marriage by the appearance of her breasts. Leaving aside betrothal of a girl in childhood, which does not require her consent, a girl is not considered to be mature enough for serious courtship until her breasts are formed (*u biiha n-yi*). She is then called a maiden (*poyasarət*). Before that stage, when her breasts are budding (*u biiha m-puksət*), suitors may already be coming to her or soliciting her parents. A girl may be married before she menstruates (*lu sie*), though it is not considered seemly for her husband to sleep with her until she is capable of child-bearing. When her suitors come to her, probably the only person who knows which of them she likes best is her mother; and if she and her lover decide to elope her mother may help them. As we know, the bonds of affection between mother and daughter remain as strong as ever after the latter's marriage

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and are kept alive by frequent interchange of visits and of gifts. Thus, in the shea fruit season it is a common sight to see a young woman carrying a basket of shea nuts to her mother or fetching one from her mother. Even if a girl marries someone her mother dislikes, this seldom estranges them. If a woman with a young child has to go away for a few days and her mother is near, she usually choose to leave the child with her mother rather than with a co-wife. Thus during pubescence a girl's intimacy and identification with her mother deepens both in terms of her social personality and on the affective level. This is the genetic basis in behaviour and sentiment of the social tie conceptualized in the notion of *soog*.

It must not be thought, though, that a father's affection for his daughter fades away as she approaches marriageable age. Far from it. But it is inevitably biased by the expectation that she will sooner or later leave his household to marry, bear children for another clan, and cease to be a daily care and concern to him. Hence the saying that girl children are of no profit (*ka ŋoori*). Tale women are as proud as their brothers of their paternal ancestry. As we know, they never lose their bonds with their lineage kin; but they come, in time, to identify themselves primarily with their husbands' interests and not with their fathers'. Her divided interests and sentiments bring it about that when a girl reaches womanhood the element of antagonism in her relations with her father may become prominent. I have never seen it overt in relation to the mother.

As we have already recorded, a father's authority over his daughter is most conspicuous in connexion with her marriage, and it is this that often creates conflict between them. This is due largely to the fact that self-differentiation for a woman, both in economic terms and in status, comes through marriage. In principle, as we know, a man can dispose of his daughter's hand as he pleases, resorting to corporal punishment, if need be, to force her to comply with his wishes. Principles and practice often coincide, but, as we have seen, a good father tempers his autocratic rights with consideration for his daughter's wishes and welfare, particularly if, as is frequent, she is supported by her mother.

Usually, however, a man has much affection for a married daughter, and a woman, particularly in the early years of marriage, often remains greatly attached to her father. For instance, Tɔŋ-Yikpɛmdaan, perhaps because he had lost most of his children, was greatly attached to his two married daughters. When one of them was attacked by a mysterious lingering illness he himself went to fetch her home and insisted that she should stay with her mother until she became well again. But a man's attachment to his sons is very much greater as a rule. A man may be greatly distressed at the death of a young married daughter, but it is as nothing compared with his grief over the death of a young adult son. And this applies to women too, though they suffer great grief at the death of a married daughter.

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857 524 868 enthusiasm for building still lasts, the girls plaster the walls and beat the inner court in the way they have learnt by assisting their mothers with these tasks in connexion with the real house.

857 524 868 301 283 Children's arts and crafts have a play value in that they are practised purely for pleasure and have a seasonal incidence. But they demand considerable skill of eye and hand, and individual differences in ability are noticeable. Towards the end of the rainy season a strong and supple reed springs up in profusion along the watercourses. Young people and children pluck these reeds to plait bangles, necklets, small panels to hang over the chest as decorations, and waistbands. These things are worn by young and old at the festival dances. But whereas the young men and women plait sporadically a few things for themselves, their sweetheart, or a child, children do so continuously and absorbedly. From July to September one sees them sitting about or strolling about in small groups, plaiting reed decorations. The boys have a game played by tossing or bowling the reed bangles and waistbands at a mark. A group plays, and the winner collects all. Girls of all ages love decking themselves from head to foot in this reedware. The technique of plaiting these articles, which is the same as that employed in the manufacture of a number of utilitarian objects, is fairly elaborate. It is gradually learnt between the ages of about 8 and 11.

857 524 868 532 Less widely practised is the art of modelling clay figures. Girls sometimes model, but it is chiefly a diversion of boys. Cattle and other animals, humans, horses accoutred and with riders astride are the usual subjects. A taste for modelling appears to depend on talent to a great extent. Many boys never acquire the art; others take such delight in it that they devote the whole dry season to producing dozens of clay figures for themselves, brothers and sisters, and friends. Gifted boys model extremely cleverly. I knew two boys of 12 or 13, sons of a chief, who made clay horses and manufactured saddlery and trappings of old rags and bells and ornaments of pieces of tin to adorn the figures. Older boys or youths teach small boys by correcting errors they make in modelling; but I have never found a boy of under 8 or 9 years able to model well.

883 868 *Play from pubescence to adolescence.* The last stage of childhood coincides with the rapid absorption of the child into the economic

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system and his or her gradual acquisition of a responsible status in the social structure. By the age of 14 or 15 most girls are already married or being courted in marriage. They take their household duties more lightly perhaps than older women with children, but their childhood education is complete. Their education in the duties and responsibilities of wifehood and motherhood lies outside the scope of this paper. ' To play ' now means to join in the dance or to dress up and go to market, there to gossip and flirt. These are recreations merely, like conversation in the evening after a good meal, when the whole family sits or sprawls about in one of the inner courts or in front of the gateway. Such ' play ' is educative in quite a different sense to that of childhood.

Boys, too, between the ages of 12 or 13 and 16 to 18 are at the stage of transition from childhood to young manhood. The imaginative play still prominent at the beginning of this period is given up by degrees and usually altogether abandoned when puberty is established. Like the adolescent girl, the boy of 16 or so finds his principal recreation in the dance at certain seasons. He, too, begins to frequent markets when time permits, for he is greatly preoccupied with the opposite sex, with courtship and flirtations and even transient love affairs, and there is no place like the market for pretty girls. An adolescent youth is already applying the deftness and skill acquired in juvenile play or in the arts and crafts of his boyhood to practical ends. A 16-year-old takes an active part in building and thatching and in the manufacture of bows and arrows, or in the practice of crafts like leatherwork or the forging of tools and implements.

The transition from boyhood to manhood can readily be observed in the development of farming interests and skill during this period. The boy of 10 to 12 is extremely keen to plant, hoe and weed. Helping his father, he sows ground-nuts for himself amongst his father's early millet. Frequently he has a small plot of cereals, a few yards square, in a useless corner of one of his father's fields. He hoes and plants and weeds his plot with great energy and zest, though somewhat crudely, borrowing one of his father's discarded hoes for this purpose. He assists his mother to farm her ground-nuts and beans. But his efforts make no difference to the family commissariat or to the care and sustenance given him by his parents. He is still

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883 868 866 experimenting without responsibility, though with great earnestness. Two or three years later the play element has vanished. If he cultivates a personal plot he makes an effort to beg land which is agriculturally good, and works with the avowed purpose of obtaining a crop which, though minute compared with the needs of the family, suffices to buy himself a cap or a loin-cloth. The time he can now devote to his own plot or to his own ground-nuts must be adjusted in accordance with his responsibilities as a contributor to the family economy.

With boys, therefore, as with girls, the completion of their childhood education marks the end of childhood play. Mimetic and imaginative experimentation becomes redundant when the individual attains social responsibility and maturity. The play of Tale children changes, as we have seen, *pari passu* with their advancing maturity, contributing at each stage to the elaboration and integration of those interests, skills, and observances the mastery and acceptance of which is the final result of their education.

VI. Synoptic Chart of Educational Development

In conclusion, and in order to bring the preceding analysis of the education of Tale children to a focus, I append a synoptic chart setting out the main trends of the development of their interests and skills as these are reflected in their economic duties and activities, on the one hand, and in their play on the other. The reader will realize that these norms are necessarily crude and approximate. I have not ventured to include observances in the chart, since the trend of their acquisition cannot easily be analysed into approximate stages.

CHART OF DEVELOPMENT

BOYS

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Economic Duties and Activities	*Play*
3–6 years	
None at first. Towards end of this period begin to assist in pegging out goats; scaring birds from newly sown fields and from crops; accompany family sowing and harvesting parties; using hoe in quasi-play to glean ground-nuts in company of older siblings.	Exuberant motor and exploratory play. Use mimetic toys (bow, drum, &c.) in egocentric play. Towards end of period social and imaginative play with 'cattle' and 'house-building' commences, often in company of older children of either sex, as well as recreational games and dancing.

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SYNOPTIC CHART OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 63

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6–9 years

These duties now fully established. Help in house-building by carrying swish. Assist in sowing and harvesting. Towards end of period begin to go out with the herd-boys, and to care for poultry.

Imaginative 'cattle' and 'house-building' play common, the latter often reflecting current economic activity of adults. Practice with bow and arrow in marksmanship competitions, and 'hunting' with groups of comrades begun. Recreational games and dancing established. Modelling clay figures and plaiting begun. Ritual play begun.

9–12 years

Fully responsible cattle-herding. Care for poultry. Assisting parents in hoeing and care of crops, but without responsibility. Farming own small plots and ground-nuts but in quasi-play. Sons of specialist craftsmen assist fathers in subsidiary capacity—'learning by looking'.

Further development of preceding forms of play, especially of ritual play. Clay-modelling and plaiting established. Recreational games and dancing more skilful. Quasi-play farming.

Sexual dichotomy in work and play established.

12–15 years

Duties as in preceding period but more responsible. Responsible care of poultry, sometimes own property. Leaders of herd-boys. Real farming of own plots and in co-operation with older members of family established by end of period. Sons of specialists experimentally making things.

Imaginative play abandoned. Dancing the principal recreation. Ritual play abandoned. Modelling gradually abandoned. Plaiting for personal decoration mainly. Regular sweet-hearting commences.

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GIRLS

Economic Duties and Activities — *Play*

3–6 years

None at first. Towards end of period the same duties as small boys. Frequent nursing of infants. Accompany mothers to water-hole and begin to carry tiny water-pots. Help in simple domestic tasks such as sweeping.

Exuberant motor and exploratory play. Attached to older sisters and drawn into their 'housekeeping' play. Towards end of period begin to take active social part in the latter and begin recreational play and dancing. Often found in mixed sex groups.

857

6–9 years

Duties of previous period established. Responsible co-operation in water-carrying and simpler domestic duties. Help in cooking and in activities associated with food-preparation, such as searching for wild edible herbs. Accompany family parties at sowing and harvesting, giving quasi-playful help. Carry swish at building operations and assist women in plastering and floor-beating, but still with a play element.

'Housekeeping' play usual. Recreational play and dancing established. Begin to learn plaiting. Participate in 'building' play of boys, mimicking current women's activities, e.g. plastering.

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9–12 years

857 All domestic duties can be entrusted to them by end of this period—water-carrying, cooking, care of infants, &c. Assisting in building and plastering, &c., more responsibly. Often sent to market to buy and sell. Help in women's part of the work at sowing and harvest times.

'Housekeeping' play continues, gradually fading out at end of this period. Dancing becomes principal recreation. Plaiting both for decoration and use established. Begin to have sweethearts but not yet with serious intent.

Sexual dichotomy in work and play established.

12–15 years

● 883 Responsible part in all domestic duties of everyday life, and of those associated with ceremonial occasions. Go for firewood and collect shea-fruits in the bush, and help to prepare shea butter. (Marriage a very near prospect.)

Note. Care of infants and children is a duty of girls at all ages. Boys also are frequently entrusted with this task.

Imaginative play abandoned. Dancing the main recreation. Courtship and hetero-sexual interests occupy a great deal of time and attention. Actively participate in the social side of funeral ceremonies, &c., in the role of marriageable girls.

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